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then the other, and finally retained only two light switches of cassowary feathers. The catalogue of victims seemed inexhaustible. The sweat was pouring down Handaupa's lined old face, his voice was hoarse, and he was shaking with exhaustion and excitement. He paused to drink from a coco-nut and went on again, but just as his emotions seemed to be getting the better of him entirely, he suddenly said he must stop as he was tired, and with that he sank abruptly into a sitting position, and drained another coco-nut which one of the spectators held ready for him.

The third *aguma* was a very aged man from the neighbourhood of Divina Kovari. Feebler than Handaupa, he had a better memory, and was not so ambitious as to begin with the two weighty bundles of *otohu*. He was supported on either side by a younger man, and further assisted himself with a stick, but even his footsteps quickened as he warmed to his work and recounted the exploits of his youth and named his five victims.

The *aguma* exhorts the *ehamei* to bravery, and the reason for telling of his own prowess is to give them something to emulate. Such a demonstration, I understand, always marks the ceremony of investiture with the *otohu*. It is typical of a savage people to whom valour or mere bloodthirstiness is one of the first virtues. The Orokaiva is not only brave enough but exceedingly vainglorious: he loves to make a great show of martial prowess. It is interesting to note that this, like other ceremonies, has a sort of ambivalence, wavering between belief and make-believe, or between seriousness and banter. While the distinguished warrior is shouting his exploits, a chorus of young men stand by beating their drums and making fun of the old man in their songs. I have recorded one of the songs appropriate to the occasion:

Poponi opi be kajari keke

which means that the old *aguma* is a boaster and a liar, that he never thrust his spear through the body of a man, but merely poked him with a shoot (*opi*) of the *Poponi* tree.

When these lengthy declamations are over, several logs

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are laid end to end and the *ebamei* sit down on them in a row, all facing in the same direction. They must not sit on the ground lest through contact with it they run the risk of some physical deformity. A man stands behind each boy (or girl), and the man who is to invest him with the *otobu* stands in front. (In the normal instance this would be the old warrior or *aguma*, but in the present case other men officiated as well. The *otobu* is thrown above the boy's head and caught and returned by the man behind him. This happens again and again until the man in front leans forward and binds the ornament in its place on the boy's forehead. This throwing back and forth, called *ketumbari*, or *iketumbo* ('giving and taking'), is said to be a precaution against subsequent baldness in the initiate.

In other tribes the *aguma* will offer the *otobu* to the initiate and, as the latter stretches out his hand to receive it, will snatch it away again. This (called *itarabo*?) is likewise done again and again till the *aguma* fixes it on the initiate as a general might pin a medal on the breast of a private. Another method of tantalizing the recipient is to throw the *otobu* from one to another of the spectators before finally giving it to him.

It is properly at this stage, while the initiate is waiting to receive his ornament, that the *aguma* lays upon him certain injunctions of an ethical character. These are always associated with the *otobu* and, as we shall see, they throw some light on the obscure meaning of the word. As he proffers and withdraws the ornament, the officiating *aguma* exhorts the candidate to refrain from thieving, from adultery, from quarrelling, and from such lawless acts as killing a neighbour's dog. It seems likely that the tantalizing delay in bestowing the ornament is itself a means of showing the youth that he must practice restraint, that he must wait his turn, in fact that he must not snatch.

Subsequent Rites: Prophylaxis and Purification

The greater number of the initiates at Divina Kovari received these *otobu* as well as the *kokumbari*, which is an inseparable feature of the ceremony of début. When the in-

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was he who went about his work quietly, who returned from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, and then chewed his betel without 'rowing'. Diligence bears some part in this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity: an *otohu-embo*, I was assured, would never refuse a request for tobacco. But it is on the negative virtues of respectability that the greater stress is laid.

Now I am bound to think that this concept of *otohu* as a good character bears directly on the instructions which the *aguma* gives the initiate at the bestowal of the *otohu* ornament. I have heard a number of versions of these instructions: the youth is adjured not to quarrel or brawl, not to steal, not to commit adultery. He is told to be diligent in the garden, in hunting, and in fishing; and to be generous and helpful, never refusing to fetch wood and water, or to give betel-nut to his friend. So a woman is told to lend an ear to what her husband says, and never give him 'strong talk' in return; to accompany him wherever he goes; to be faithful to him; and to keep her hands off other women's property.

It is at the actual presentation of the *otohu* ornament that these injunctions are laid upon the youth or the girl, and thenceforward, it appears, the initiate must live up to the *otohu* character. I have been told that a man might refuse to enter into a quarrel, saying, No, I am an *otohu-embo*; whereas one who had never received the *otohu* would grow up bad-tempered and a ne'er-do-well.

We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an *otohu* does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.

I would not claim that this meaning, viz. decent or amenable to society, was necessarily the basic meaning of *otohu*. I should think rather that the name belonged in the first place to the concrete object or ornament, and that it came to be used for the negative virtues of respectability because those virtues were impressed upon the youth when the ornament was given him.

I am quite unable to offer any useful conjecture as to the

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Attempts at Standardization

Native morality is for the most part inexplicit; we do not expect to find an established code, and it is mainly by observing conduct and its apparent reaction on the public mind that we arrive at any general principles. But it is worth mentioning the few incipient traces of standardization. The foregoing list of virtues will call to mind the *otohu* ideal, the character of the *otohu-embo*, and the instructions which are given to the youth or girl who receives the emblem (pp. 191, 204, 205). Apart from being urged on to deeds of valour, the recipient was enjoined, with more insistence perhaps, to observe the milder social virtues which would make him an amenable or respectable member of the group. Such versions as I heard of the moral instruction given at the *otohu* ceremony were possibly somewhat abbreviated, but their tone was consistent, and it is fair to say that the *otohu* injunctions are a brief *précis* of social morality, and would thus constitute a standardization, albeit only transmissible by word of mouth.

There is a word *iggo* (Binandele *yego*) which may be translated 'moral law', or perhaps, since the examples are all negative, 'moral prohibition'. The examples were such as the following: not to steal a man's vegetables, canoes, spears, &c.; not to usurp his fishing rights; not to take his dog to hunt, but to drive it back if it followed the hunter of its own accord; not to commit adultery; not to beat one's wife overmuch; not to commit assault on another man. These *iggo* were for adults; they did not apply to children, who had to be treated with so much indulgence; still less to dogs, whose nature it was to steal on sight. While not implying standardization, the mere existence of the word hints at a definite conception of right and wrong.

With respect to property it is worth noting under this head the various tangible protection marks. Whatever their sanctions they have no real value as physical barriers to trespass or appropriation.

(1) The commonest is *papura* or *esa*, the frond of coco-nut palm tied about the butt, which means that no one is to

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he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organised about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely unverbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,[4] so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) Education in Conformity

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

[4] Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.

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much as the education of the young is a conscious activity of adults, the internalization of norms and ideal patterns involves the manipulation of sanctions. What is sanctioned in childhood is the kind of behaviour required in adult life, plus a range of permitted behaviour, tolerated in youth, which diminishes as the individual grows older. So, secondly, we should be able to find within the field of education *a model of the kind of sanctions which circumscribe adult behaviour. I.e.*, if shame is a dominant sanction in adult life, it would not be surprising to find parents and other educators shaming the recalcitrant child and, at an earlier stage, ensuring that the individual will become sensitive to shame.

Thirdly, it is possible to view education as *authority in action*. It is important to know who educates, and what kinds of authority are exercised during the educative process. In a relatively stable society, we should expect some continuity between these kinds of authority and the kinds of authority used in the workaday and political activities of adults.

There are five stages in the Orokaiva life cycle. The last two—adult person (*embo*, or female *pamone*) and aged adult (*embo evovo* or *pamone evovo*) need not concern us here. It is necessary, however, to consider the first three: the baby (*meni orosati*), the little child (*meni isapa*) and the big boy or girl (*meni dombo*), in some detail, and then to examine the initiation ceremony which marks the transition from *meni dombo* to adult *embo* or *pamone*.

Orokaiva Childhood

An Orokaiva baby, from birth to the time he can walk, is known as *meni orosati*. He lives in a string bag which his mother carries wherever she goes. As the mother jogs along to the gardens, the pliant string bag is pulled taut by the baby's weight, and the characteristic pre-natal position is induced. When she gets to the gardens, she puts the string bag on some leaves on the ground, or hangs it from the branch of a tree, and goes about her digging and weeding. If the baby cries, demonstrating that he is hungry, she will come over to him, take him out of the string bag, and sit down on the ground to feed him. She pushes her nipple into his mouth, continues talking to the other woman, and apparently forgets the baby until he relaxes against her in sleep. Then she puts the baby back into the string bag. If the baby should cry when he is obviously not hungry, the mother gives him no more attention that a single enquiring glance, but if he continues to show signs of pain or sickness she consults one of the old women about him. This is done casually, whenever she happens to meet one of the old women; it is not judged to be urgent. By our standards, the Orokaiva mother seems to take very little interest in her baby. He is a nuisance because he hampers her movements. She fondles him very rarely, and frequently she leaves him for short periods in the care of older siblings.

My information concerning the Orokaiva attitude towards teething (which occurs well before weaning) is fragmentary. As soon as their teeth begin to appear, children are given solid foods to chew. The few babies I saw biting their mothers' breasts during nursing were quickly cuffed and scolded. One mother giggled, as the

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headdresses. At the conclusion of the initiation, some of the initiates are presented with the *otohu* ornaments. (Formerly, it was always a distinguished warrior who presented these.) The initiates then fast for a day and a night. That night, there is sexual licence for the senior villagers, a temporary lifting of tabus on incest and adultery, but the initiates themselves are not permitted to participate.

In interpreting the initiation ceremonies of the Orokaiva, Chinnery and Beaver state that "the idea . . . seems to be to instil absolute and lasting terror into the candidates, and to make them think that their elders have beaten off the spirits; while in this receptive and chastened frame of mind, the lads, imbued with the idea of the power of the men, will pay attention to the instruction given. There appears to be an idea that the spirits of the dead are present, and that the initiated, *i.e.* the living, are keeping them away from the candidates."[6]

Amongst the living, the initiation ritual juxtaposes the two groups, initiated and uninitiated, the one group terrified and utterly helpless, and the other well able to deal with the *embahi* spirits and drive away danger. Thus the respect for seniority, which is informally learned during childhood, is finally established.

An Erikson-type psychoanalytic interpretation would doubtless find in the *embahi's* threat to devour the boys, with the menacing reiteration "Bite, bite, bite!" a dramatization of the *meni orosati's* guilt at biting the mother. I have not enough data to confirm or deny the admissibility of such an interpretation.

Above all, initiation involves the explicit instruction of the boys in the *otohu* virtues. This instruction takes place during their period of seclusion in the *oro*. Later, when *otohu* ornaments are given to some of them, they are again exhorted in detail to practise these virtues. The possession of an *otohu* imposes a social obligation on the wearer to "live up to it," and the prestige associated with this ornament indubitably ensures that a large number of people do in fact approximate to the ideal *otohu* patterns of behaviour.

(3) Sanctions

In Orokaiva society, sanctions operate diffusely and need no specific person's direction to put them into effect. The *embo kiti*, whom F. E. Williams called a "clan headman," but who is really more of a village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no sanctions. He has no power to reward or punish, except by making obvious his approval or disapproval of various lines of action. In fact, there is no rewarding and punishing authority at all.

Retaliation seems to have been the commonest sanction in former times, in the form of direct violence or the more subtle method of sorcery.[7] Retaliation by sorcery may still be practised; I have no information on this point. Certainly deaths are still attributed to sorcery. When (during 1950) several people from the same village

[6] E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLV, 1915.

[7] F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Society*, pp. 327–329.